which had no contact with the Japanese had no knowledge of textile techniques until comparatively recent times.[4]

Since they depended wholly upon the Japanese for the refining of iron, their tools, prior to the importation of iron in large amounts, were of stone and bone and, even on the eve of the Meiji [1868–1912] period, stone and bone tools were the only ones possessed by the Ainu of the remoter regions. Most of the Stone Age remains now being unearthed in Hokkaidō are Ainu remains. The Ainu knew how to make earthenware although in later years both the making and use of this ware was forgotten as they relied upon imports from Japan.[5] Bows and arrows (poison arrows and spring bows) along with traps constituted their only hunting weapons.[6] In fishing *Opu* or spears were used and in salmon fishing a heavy club of about two feet in length called *Isabakiku* was wielded. Fishing nets called *Ya* were in use but they were merely crude hand scoops made of ropes of *Shinakō* [*Tilia japonica*—Japanese linden]. They had fish traps called *Urai-teshi*[7] and in tombs fishhooks of bone have been discovered.[8] These all are primitive hunting and fishing tools. Clubs, spears, and bows and arrows were all used but the decisive weapon was the poisoned arrow.[9] Canoes were used for hunting, fishing, and transportation. Those used on swamps and rivers were three–four-man canoes but offshore navigation called for a rather large dugout with boards fastened to the side by vines and operated with mat sails of coarse grasses and double paddles. Their wealth "usually consisted of dwellings, clothing, ornaments and the simple tools with which they obtained and prepared their food, boats, weapons and crude furnishings." This condition accords with that state described by Engels as the "Lower Stage of Barbarism"[10] and even of this wealth they possessed little. The culture of the Ainu can be traced back to Morgan's "Upper State of Savagery" or, from the fact that they

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[4] Kindaichi Kyōsuke in *Saihō Zuihitsu*, 121 ff. "The women did not know how to sew. When *Attushi* woven by alien natives was shown to them they would ask where it was made and when we replied that it was woven by women living in another part of the country they were amazed since not one of them could weave even a basket. They thought that the women who had woven the *Attushi* must be godlike persons." Yamazaki Hanzō, *Mōi Tōkanki* (Narrative of the hairy aborigines of the Eastern region) in *Higashi Esochi Kikō* (*Etorofuto Kikō*). 1806 [Travels in Eastern Ezo] [Travels in Etorofu Island].

[5] Kōnō Tsunekichi, Hi Koropukkuru Ron (The anti-Koropukuru argument), *Sapporo Hakubutsu Gakkai Kaihō* 2.

[6] John Batchelor, *The Ainu and their folklore*, chap. 39.

[7] *Ibid.* chap. 43 [stakes driven into stream beds in arrow head form with point downstream. The spaces between the stakes are fitted with branches while the point is open and covered with a net].

[8] Saisenkai ed., *Hokkaidō Genshi Bunka Shuei* (Collected papers on the primitive culture of Hokkaidō), 30–31.

[9] *Ibid.*, 47–51.

[10] F. Engels, *Der Ursprung der Familie, die Privateigentums und des Staats*, 66.

1:Takakura - H-4, 5 (no date) 1960 AB6 Ainu AB6
Feudal Japan AB2
Early Japan AB3
AEF 102

The General Divisions of Hokkaido prior to 1869.

MAP 4

AF *175 *648 628

from Utasutu to Masuke on the west coast. The direct cause of the revolt of 1669 was a dispute over the fish and game grounds along the Niikappu River between the Ezo of Shibuchari River and those in the region of the Saru River. When the Matsumae refused to do anything about the dispute, aside from sending a delegate to mediate, the Saru River natives became deeply disaffected because they had depended on the Matsumae to solve the difficulty while, on the other hand, the Shibuchari natives despised Matsumae for his supineness in the matter. In 1668 Onibishi, chief of Saru, was killed by Shakushain, chief of Shibuchari, the great Ezo revolt for independence started, and in the following year they massacred the merchants and raided their vessels as well as the ships of the hawk masters. At the same time messages were sent all over the island and the remainder of the discontented Ezo joined the revolt and the massacres. In eastern Ezo eleven boats were attacked and 120 people (including 2 samurai) killed; in western Ezo 8 vessels were attacked and 153 people (including 2 samurai and 3 hawk masters) were killed —a total of 19 vessels and 273 persons. This incident was a shock to the Japanese on the mainland. However, the rebellion sprang from a poorly organized people who had only poison arrows as weapons while the troops sent against them had firearms. In addition, many Ezo were faced with economic difficulty because of the forced cessation of the trade. In 1669 chief Shakushain was killed and his main force defeated after which punitive expeditions were sent against the other tribes. The Matsumae, sending troops to Yoichi (1670), Shiraoi (1671), and Kunnui (1672), made the Ezo render compensation and sign the following pledge:

AF *175 669 *648 728

1. All orders from the Lord, regardless of their nature, will be observed by us, our offspring, and *Utare* (kinsfolk) regardless of sex.

A [411]

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6
Gold RX3

A 539 648

Upon hearing the news, they made themselves many arrows and prepared themselves for war.

G 648

"By and by the winter came and some of the Ainu people of Taran took their lines and went fishing through holes made in the ice. Suddenly there appeared, coming down from the lake, a great bunch of reindeer. The Oroks rode them, carrying on their backs quivers well filled with arrows. They rushed suddenly upon the Ainu who were fishing, and, taking them unawares, shot at them as they were busy holding their lines at the ice holes and killed them all. But there was one man there doing nothing; he was idle and empty-handed. This man rushed off post haste to Taraika. Although the pursuing man rode a swift reindeer after him, he was unable to overtake him. Just midway between Taran and the mouth of the river at Taraika there was a grave in which a man had been buried. To this the fleeing man rushed, wrenched the lid* off the coffin, and took out a bow covered with thin layers of bone and two arrows which had been put in with the corpse.** These being now in his hands, he tightened the bow string and placed one of the arrows in readiness for the approaching Oroks who were seeking his life. As they came nearer he drew the bow against them. But the string snapped, so that it was quite impossible for him to defend himself further. Then the Oroks shot their arrows at him and killed him.

A 764 184

* The coffins were left with the tops above ground.

** Thus, then, we have it clearly stated that in olden times the Northern Ainu did, some of them, bury in coffins, and also that they did not always break the bows and arrows before placing them beside the corpse, in both of which respects they differed from the Ainu of Yezo. Some of the bows of the best kind which were used by the Saghalien Ainu had thin slithers of bone, like those used by the inhabitants of the Amur region, twisted round them. This, I believe, was for ornamentation as well as to strengthen them. In Yezo the bark of the cherry tree was so used, and they looked very pretty.

A [441 171]

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

It is said that "confession is good for the soul," so I conclude this account with one of my own. In spite of all our boasted spirituality how prone the human mind is to materialism! How strongly ideas of childhood's days have fastened themselves on one's soul! I quite thought I had altogether outgrown gross materialism, yet, when that mascot—that carved kite—was handed to me, for a moment, I felt with regard to it as I used to do respecting the old lucky-stone and penny-with-the-hole-in-it which I used to carry about in my pocket when I was quite a small boy! Well, my old friend wished me prosperity by his gift and I take off my hat to him. He came to see me but two days ago and told me with great joy that he remains entirely well. I am glad to say he is looking happy and in peace.

But a quite different kind of charm was given me by a good Ainu friend in my young days. We were about the same age, and he and I were very fast friends and did a good deal of hunting together when we needed food. His present consisted in a small knife in a sheath which he himself had carved very nicely for me. He brought it to me with a letter, a translation of which I now give. He told me that the sheath would bring me good luck.

My Dear Friend,

I present you with this knife-sheath. When henceforth, Sir, you go to hunt among the mountains, gird yourself with it. When you see a hare or duck, kill them with this knife. I now write to you about knife-sheaths. Consider.

A KNIFE AND SHEATH

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

777
431

When a couple are newly married, the first thing the man does is to make a knife-sheath which he gives to the woman; and the wife works a head-dress, as it is called, and presents it to her husband. It is a very good thing to follow this custom. For the old men say that husbands and wives ought to do so. And so I have made a sheath, which I present to you, sir. I have now told you in writing why the knife-sheath should be in one's possession.

That is all, and in it we have another link with 777
and echo from the past.

It should not be thought from this, however, that I was actually to kill the quarry with this little knife. Rather, I was given to understand that the special [411 ●
virtues and powers believed to be inherent in it would 234
be transferred to my person when out hunting, if I would carry it.

I suppose I ought to consider myself fortunate to have received two such charms. Though I have no faith in them or any such things, I am very thankful to have the good will and best wishes they imply of my two good friends, one Japanese and the other Ainu.

When writing about my Kite Mascot I referred to 600
a great and solemn mourning I witnessed for a little bear cub which had unfortunately died while being brought up for a festival in a certain village. Many years before this happened, I received a short prayer from an Ainu hunter which he said was used by some people when praying to cubs at the time of being sacrificed. This prayer is so unexpectedly peculiar 527
that I now write a translation of it. (There is really 774
nothing new under the sun, psychically speaking, for I find ideas about the dense material and the astral bodies believed in by modern theosophists, who suppose the discarnate spirits of man and beast to live in the astral world. There they appear as the real beings, while we on the earth are but shadows.) In order that the prayer may be the better understood, I have divid-

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

142
302
291
411
516

A JAPANESE DRAWING OF AN OLD AINU WARRIOR

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

231
527 As soon as the cub is out of the cage, the people who have formed themselves up about him shout and clap their hands, while he is being led about. They also excite him by shooting at him with blunt arrows, which strike him and then fall to the ground. The wilder the animal becomes, the more delighted are the people. And they even go so far sometimes as to beat him with long sticks. When the struggling creature shows signs of exhaustion, he is tied up to a strong stake driven into the ground, nicely ornamented with fetishes and tufts of shavings. As soon as he is quite secure, more blunt arrows are fired at him, which make him rage furiously.

[411]

BLUNT ARROWS

Then comes the most exciting time. All at once some of the brave young fellows rush forward and seize the poor brute by the ears and fur of his head, whilst others rush in behind and lay hold of him by the hind quarters. Then, when the animal opens his mouth to snap at anyone, a man will go in and thrust a piece of wood between his jaws. When all this has been done the cub is dragged and carried to two poles lying on the ground, which are called the "poles for strangling." Here one pole is placed under his throat and the other on the nape of his neck. As soon as this has been arranged the people rush in with one accord and press the top pole down hard till the poor creature is choked. At last a man either shoots him with an arrow or stabs him through the heart with a long knife, taking care to catch the blood in some vessel. This the elders of the people and hunters drink while

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

and hug in return and while doing so thrust the knife into the animal's heart. He had done this and escaped with a mere scratch! 224

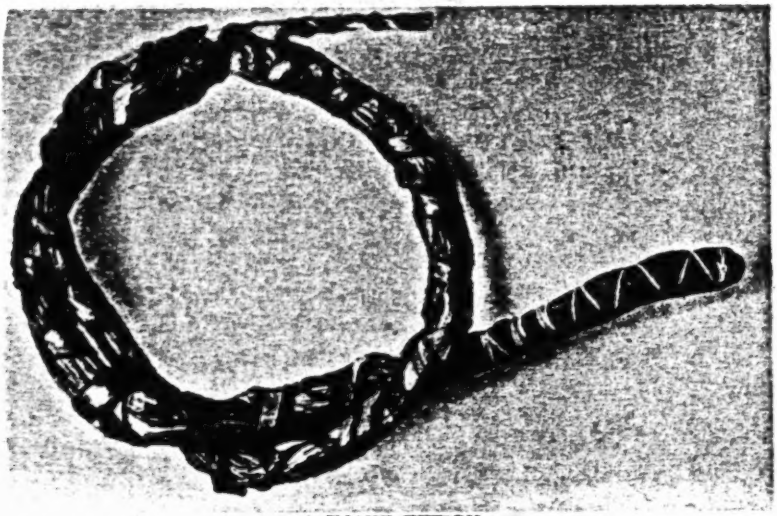
I was always on the look-out for curios when among the Ainu, but my friend Tee had one only to offer me. It was quite unique. It was what he called a war club. However, it was not wood, as I had expected it to be, but was a simple piece of iron rod about three feet and a half long. There were three notches filed into it. Upon asking him what these notches represented, he said they were put there by his ancestors to indicate that three men had been killed in battle with it. I declined it with thanks. No doubt it was buried with him at his death, poor fellow. 441

The Ainu always used aconite poison in olden times on their arrows when hunting. And they also set up spring bows by the tracks of bears and deer, by which they got not a few. Any animal going along the track where one was set would touch a string attached to the trigger of the bow as it passed, and this would let the poisoned arrow off at such a height as to strike the body. The poison was a fatal blood poison. One day Tee and a friend went away into the mountains to hunt bears and set up some of these bows. As my friend was walking along a track he accidentally struck against the string of one his friend had set, and received the arrow in his thigh. He had a gun with him which he fired off immediately to call his companion, and then sat down and tried to cut out the arrow head. Before his friend could reach him, however, he had bled to death. His companion found him a corpse. It was a sad home-coming for him. 224 [278 411]

A few years before his death, Tee came to me at Sapporo and said he would like to become a Christian. I told him I was very glad to hear it, and would at once begin to teach him and prepare him for baptism. The following year he came to Sapporo again for 797

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

778



A SNAKE EFFIGY

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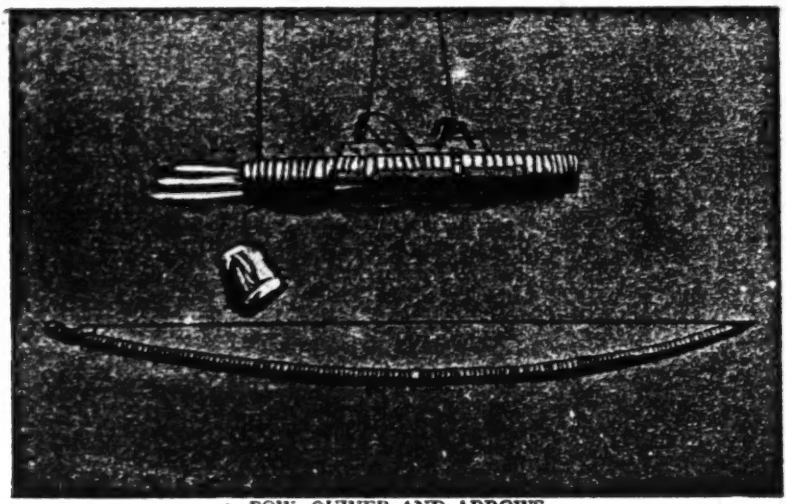
778



BOW, QUIVER AND ARROWS

[P. 258(A)]

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

224
411
133

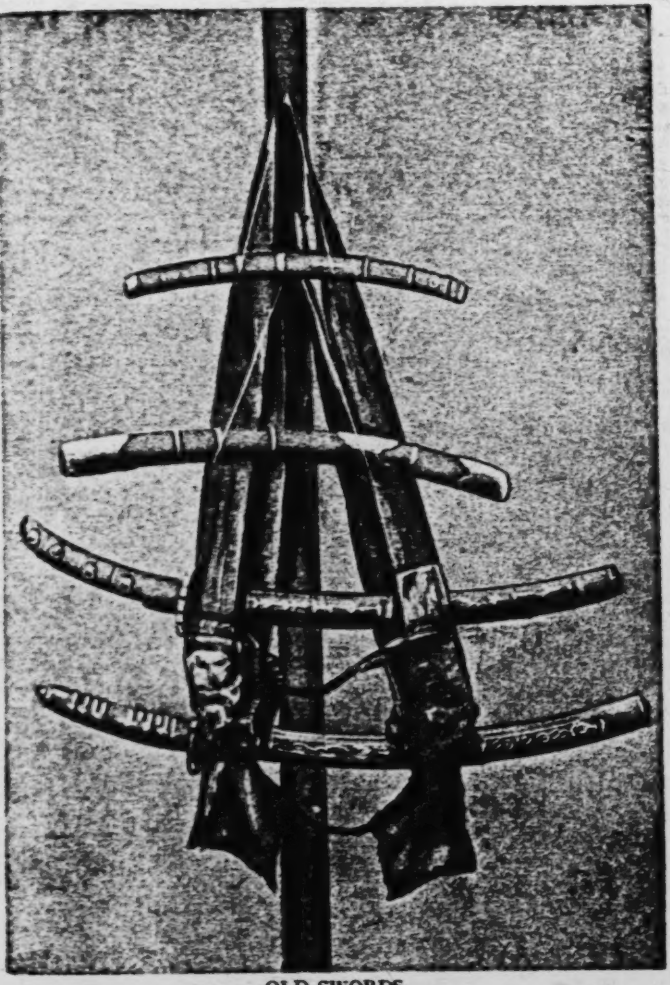
SETTING A SPRING-BOW IN A BEAR'S TRACK

SETTING A SPRING-BOW IN THE RUN OF A FOX OR OTHER ANIMAL

[p.308 (A)]

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

411
789



OLD SWORDS

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

291
302
441

TWO FRIENDS OF 1880

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

291
411
224
231

MODERN HUNTERS

[p. 372]

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

brass rings, her ear-rings, beads, and necklace, her harp, a weaving loom, some thread, a cooking pot, two wooden spoons, two bowls and eating cups, a water ladle, a small knife, a few dumplings to eat on the way, a few dried fish, and a little millet. These she tied up in a neat bundle and rolled in a mat. Nor did she forget to fix all up securely, ready for a sudden departure, in a carrying-sling, the headpiece of which she had made soft and beautifully ornamented. When all was prepared, she hid it away very carefully among some bushes by a little stream, and then returned home to await the moment arranged for the elopement.

Kutri brought a long and short knife, an axe, his fine yew bow, elegantly decorated with thin slithers of cherry bark, a quiver well filled with arrows, a good supply of aconite poison, some stout string, a few strong sandals made of deer and fish skins, a cup and moustache-lifter, a bear-skin bag containing tinder and a fire drill, a fox skull for divination and a tray or two upon which to place skull fetishes and offerings to the deities. He also carried some bear's galls as medicine. Ever thinking of his dearly beloved Yai-mah, he took one thing he believed she might possibly forget, and which as it happened she surely did overlook, namely, a pair of scissors. Later, when they unpacked their bundles in their new home and he produced the scissors, her pleasure was unbounded. Her face lit up with true love and her eyes flashed with joy. Her beautiful moon-like face beamed with smiles. She, too, had thought that Kutri might possibly forget something, and, so, not to be outdone, she produced from her work-bag a fine deer decoy and handed it to him. Great was his pleasure and loud his laughter when he saw it, for he found that he had quite forgotten to bring one! The rafters of their little hut rang again and again with the ripple of Yai-mah's lovely voice, and the musical roar of Kutri's melodious accompani-

3: Hitchcock N-5 (1888) 1891 AB6 Ainu AB6

food and raiment, the wigwam is close and smoky, the fruits of the earth are nuts, and acorns, and roots, and grubs dug out of the ground. To know how miserably a savage lives, one must see him in his house.

A century ago the Ainos were living in the age of stone. They are beyond it now only because they have obtained knives from the Japanese. The stone arrow-heads, which one may pick up almost anywhere, even in the plowed fields of Hakodate, have given way to heads of bamboo or iron. At Yeterof I purchased a stone implement for cutting, which could not have been very old. They have no writings, no records of their past, no aspirations. Their language is still a puzzle, their traditions and myths are scarcely known except to a few students. They are incapable of advancement. After a century of contact with the Japanese, they have learned no arts, adopted no improvements. The hunter to day shoots the bear with poisoned arrow from a bow as primitive as early man himself, although the Japanese are famous for their archery and weapons.

PHYSICAL CHARACTERS OF THE AINOS.

The appearance and general characteristics of the Ainos have already been described. It is, therefore, only necessary to allude particularly to certain conspicuous features, mainly to their hairy nature. For a good series of physical measurements the reader is referred to those of Dr. Scheube,* and especially to a very valuable contribution by Prof. W. Donitz.† The last-named author concludes that on the whole the results of his observations indicate that the Ainos belong to the Mongolian stock. This conclusion is not sustained by all observers. Dr. Scheube, for example, concludes from the results of measurements of Aino skulls, and from other characters, that they do not belong to the Mongolian type. Their great hairiness, the position of the eyes, the conformation of the nose, the great breadth of the face, etc., are all characters which distinguish them from Mongols.

The most conspicuous feature of the Ainos is their remarkable hairiness. The testimony of travelers concerning this matter is conflicting, but we may explain this on the supposition that the observers have not always recognized the typical Aino. Mr. Batchelor says: "I have seen one old man so completely covered with hair that his body could hardly be seen." This was an exceptional case, but my own observations have fully substantiated the results of those writers who have carefully investigated the physical characters of these people. Dr. Scheube relates that he has seen men with hair on the breast 10 centimetres in length, and on the back 5 centimetres and over. This subject has been examined by Dr. Hilgendorf,‡ who, in 1875, made a series of

* Scheube, B. Die Ainos. Mittheilungen der Deutschen Gesellschaft für Natur- und Völkerkunde Ostasiens, III (1882), 220–245.

† Donitz, Prof. W. Bemerkungen ueber Ainos, *loc. cit.*, Dec., 1874, 61–67.

‡ Mitth. Deutschen Gesellsch. für Natur- u. Völkerkunde. June, 1875, pp. 11–13.

3: Hitchcock N-5 (1888) 1891 AB6 Ainu AB6

224 These fe-
+11 rocious brutes are fearlessly attacked with such inferior weapons as the bows and arrows represented in Fig. 84. One bow in this figure was obtained from an old man at Shari, who, in a most dramatic manner, illustrated the manner of shooting bears. The bow is strung by taking the free end of the string between the teeth and drawing up the slack while the hands are employed in bending the wood. The best bows are made of the wood of *Taxus cuspidata*.

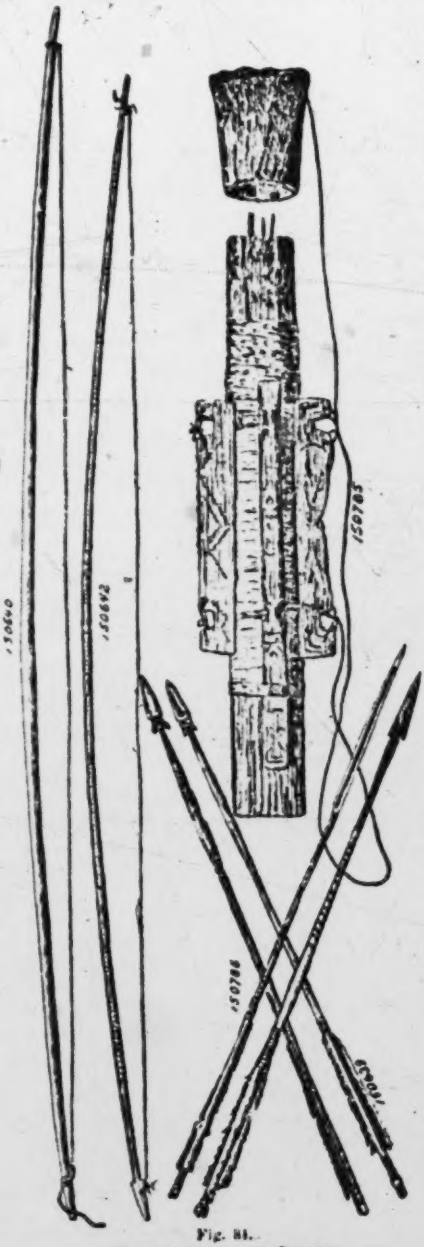


Fig. 84.
BOWS, ARROWS, AND QUIVER.

The arrows are made in different ways. Some of them are plain, straight shafts, with iron heads and feathered ends. Not long since, stone heads were in use, but now Japanese iron is hammered into heavy barbed points. Since the introduction of knives, bamboo heads have been adopted. By so cutting the bamboo that the hard cortex of the stem forms the point and edge, very excellent arrow-heads are made. I have seen an arrow-head of this kind driven from a bow into a board with great force without noticeable injury to the point. The shaft is usually made in two sections. The notched end is usually a length of reed (*Phragmites*) or of scrub bamboo, at the lower end of which the feathers are tied with fine bark fiber. This is joined to a somewhat shorter length of wood, the upper part of which tapers, and is inserted into the base of the bamboo or bone head. Such jointed arrows are shown in Fig. 84. The heads are secured with resin and bindings of bark, but they are easily detached.

3: Hitchcock N-5 (1888) 1891 AB6 Ainu AB6

The arrows are carried in quivers, one of which is shown in the figure. The quiver is slung under the left arm by means of a cord passed over the shoulders on the same side.

The arrow release is of the simplest kind, the arrow being held between the thumb and forefinger.

Large animals, like the bear, are always hunted with poisoned arrows; hence it is not necessary that the bows should be very powerful. If the arrow only penetrates the skin it is sufficient to kill the animal. Wherever bears abound, the woods are made dangerous to travelers by the number of set-bows with poisoned arrows, so arranged that when a bear or other animal treads upon a cord, the arrow is released and the deadly shaft enters its body. A Japanese artist has represented such a device in Plate CVIII.

The preparation of arrow poisons is generally held by savage people as a secret art, which they do not readily reveal. The method of preparing the arrow poisons of the Ainos has only been made known to a single traveler, Dr. B. Scheube, who believes that his information is correct, because the accounts obtained in different localities entirely agree. Dr. Scheube's account is, in brief, as follows:

The young side roots of *Aconitum Japonicum* are usually gathered in summer and dried in the shade until fall. The roots which contain active poison become softer, while the others grow harder; apparently a process of fermentation takes place. The former, after removal of the skin, are rubbed between two stones to a pasty mass. There is no further preparation. This material is either spread directly upon the arrowheads or preserved. The poison preserves its activity for five months. Dr. Scheube adds that in every village the poison is prepared only by a few old men, not because the process of preparation is unknown to the others, but because these men have had experience in its production. Prayers, magic formulas, and the like are not recited during the preparation.

The activity of the poison is tested by placing a portion on the tongue. To insure its action, each arrow receives portions from three different preparations. According to the Ainos, a wounded bear runs at the farthest not more than 200 metres before falling dead.

Dr. Stuart Eldridge* has made some chemical and physiological investigations of this poison, which confirm the supposition that aconite is the active ingredient thereof. But this writer declares that the pulp prepared as described "is mixed with other ingredients, which I have been unable to identify, but which are probably inert, and the resulting mass is buried for a time in the earth. On removal from the earth, the poison appears as a stiff, dark, reddish-brown paste, through which fragments of woody fiber are distributed. The poison, when applied to the arrow, is mixed with a certain proportion of animal fat."

I was able to obtain two specimens of the poison, which are in

* Trans. Asiatic Soc. Japan, IV, 1875–76, 78

3: Hitchcock N-5 (1888) 1891 AB6 Ainu AB6

278
411

the form of hard lumps. Specimens of the plant from which the poison is obtained were also collected and determined by Mr. Theo. Holm as *Aconitum Japonicum*. In some parts of the country it grows in great abundance, and the fine purple flowers are very pleasing to the eye.

224

Small animals are caught in rude, but rather ingenious bow traps. The bow is set in a frame, as in a crossbow. The heavy arrow-shaft is notched on the side to receive the bowstring and carries a T-head. When the trap is set, the bait is placed between the T-head and the end of the frame, in such a manner that any attempt to remove it releases the string, and the T-head comes down and securely holds the animal.

In deer-shooting they have a peculiar instrument made of bone and bamboo with teeth like a comb, with which they can imitate the cry of a deer. Concealed in ambush, the hunter thus calls the animal within range of his bow.

226
[42]

Fishing, as at present conducted, is mostly in the hands of the Japanese. This is particularly true of the coast fisheries. Aino settlements are occasionally to be found along the banks of the larger rivers and their important tributaries, where the most primitive devices are still in use. Perhaps the most curious of their devices is a kind of spear, which is shown in Fig. 85. This is lashed to a long shaft, and is used for spearing salmon from canoes or on the river bank. The curved gaff is made of iron. It is secured to a line passing through the spear end, and the shank rests in a groove in one side, as shown. When the fish is struck, the gaff turns over, as represented by the dotted line, and hooks into the flesh, held only by the line or strip of hide, by which the fish is pulled in. Mr. Blackiston has described the use of this spear in the following words:

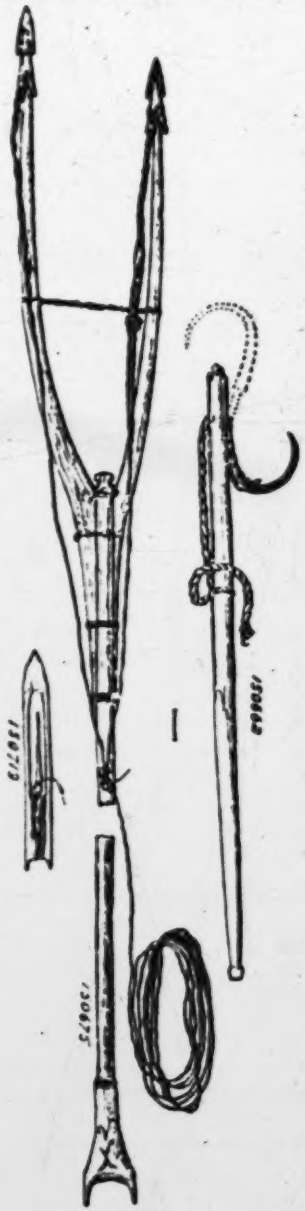


Fig. 85.

SPEARS. NEEDLE FOR MAKING FISH-NETS.

They [the Ainos] are expert in the use of the spear, often striking a fish in motion as much as 3 feet under water at some yards' distance, but generally the fish is "jabbed" with-

3: Hitchcock N-5 (1888) 1891 AB6 Ainu AB6

to each other, "How good this water is." Half the fleet went up the river. But the boat in which the Aino was, continued its voyage, and at last arrived at the shore of his native place, whereupon the sailors threw the Aino into the water. He thought he had been dreaming, and then he came to himself. The boat and its sailors had disappeared; whither he could not tell. But he went to his house, and, falling asleep, dreamt a dream. He dreamt that the same old chief appeared to him and said: "I am no human being; I am the chief of the Salmon, the divine fish. As you seemed in danger of perishing in the waves, I drew you to me and saved your life. You thought you only staid with me a single night. But in reality that night was a whole year, at the conclusion of which I sent you back to your native place. So I shall be truly grateful if henceforth you will offer liquor to me, set up the divine symbols in my honor, and worship me with the words, 'I make a libation to the chief of the salmon, the divine fish.' If you do not worship me, you will become a poor man. Remember this well." Such were the words which the divine old man spoke to him in his dream.

LIST OF SPECIMENS FROM THE AINOS IN YEZO, COLLECTED DURING THE SUMMER OF 1888.

By ROMYN HITCHCOCK.

[The numbers refer to the entries in the register of the U. S. National Museum.]

Mat.—Made of the rush *Scirpus maritimus*, the *suge* of the Japanese, with black or brown colored squares of dyed bark of *Tilia cordata*. The elm bark is also used for the colored parts. The brown color is obtained from the bark of *Æsculus turbinata*, the black from *Alnus maritima*. Ainos of Yezo, 1888. 150632.

Mat.—Same as 150632. Ainos of Yezo, 1888. 150633.

Mat.—Same as 150632, different pattern. Ainos of Yezo, 1888. 150634.

Mat.—Same as 150632, different pattern. Ainos of Yezo, 1888. 150635.

Mat.—Same as 150632, different pattern. Ainos of Yezo, 1888. 150636.

Shoes made of fish skin.—Worn with snow-shoes in winter. (See Pl. XCVII.) Ainos of Yezo, 1888. 150637.

Quiver and poisoned arrows.—Arrows with iron heads, poisoned with a preparation of aconite root; used to kill bears. Ainos of Yezo, 1888. 150638.

Quiver and poisoned arrows.—Arrows with bamboo heads, poisoned with a preparation of aconite root. The shafts made in sections of reed and wood, with feathered ends. Ainos of Yezo, 1888. 150639.

	Inches.
Length of bamboo head	1½ to 2
Length of upper shaft of wood	5½ to 6
Length of lower shaft of reed	12½ to 13

Stone arrow heads were probably in use by the Ainos within the historic period. They are found buried on the soil near the surface in many places.

Bow.—Made of the wood of *Taxus cuspidata*, which is preferred for the purpose. The specimen is 49 inches in length. The string is twisted bark cord. (See Fig. 84.) Ainos of Shari, Yezo, 1888. 150640.

Bow.—Similar to 150640, but 52 inches long. Ainos of Yezo, 1888. 150641.

Bow.—Small bow of wood wrapped with strips of bark to strengthen it. The string is secured at one end to a piece of hard wood fitting over the end of the bow like a cap, held in place by a wooden pin. Ainos of Yezo, 1888. (See Fig. 84.) 150642.

Snowshoes.—Made of wood with thongs of bear skin. These are worn with the shoes of fish-skin [No. 150637] or with much more comfortable boots made of hide and fur. (See Pl. XCVII.) Ainos of Bekkai, Yezo, 1888. 150643

Sandals.—Shutukori. Very rudely made of walnut bark, secured to the foot with cords of bark. (See Pl. XCVII.) Ainos of Piratori, Yezo, 1888. 150644

3: Hitchcock N-5 (1888) 1891 AB6 Ainu AB6

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[286] *Ohiyo cloth.*—Woven of the bark of the ohiyo or mountain elm, *Ulmus montana*, with stripes of blue and bright colored cotton. A very strong durable cloth which has been in universal use by the Ainos, but which is now being replaced by the more comfortable Japanese cotton fabrics. Width, 13 inches. Ainos of Yezo, 1888. 150665

Loom.—With warp of elm bark and a small piece of cloth woven, showing the reed, shuttle, beater, etc. Weaving is usually done by the women, who sit on the floor and stretch the warp from the beams of the house. (See Fig. 82.) A similar loom arranged for use is shown in the section of textiles. Ainos of Yezo, 1888. 150666

[291] *Ohiyo belt.*—Belt woven of elm bark on a small loom made for the purpose. Used as a belt outside the coat. Length, 8 feet; width, 1 inch. Ainos of Shari, Yezo, 1888. 150667

[415] *Bark water bucket and dipper.*—Made of birch bark. Used for holding water. (See Fig. 73.) Ainos of Yezo, 1888. 150668

Bark basket.—Made of ohiyo bark with handle of the same bark twisted. Ainos of Piratori, Yezo, 1888. 150669

Wooden ladle.—"Kasup." A large ladle used for dipping food from the kettle. Ainos of Piratori, Yezo, 1888. 150670

[291] *Ohiyo belt.*—Made of the ohiyo or elm bark, with stripes of colored cotton. Ainos of Yezo, 1888. 150671

Conical bark bag.—Made of the bark of the linden tree. Ainos of Piratori, Yezo, 1888. 150672

[415] *Bark dish for fish.*—Very rudely made by binding the bark into the form of a deep dish and tying the ends with bark rope between short sticks to preserve the shape. Ainos of Piratori, Yezo, 1888. 150673

Bark dipper.—Made of birch bark, with a wooden handle. Ainos of Piratori, Yezo, 1888. 150674

[411] *Spear.*—A two-pronged spear used for spearing seals or large fish, salmon, etc. The two points of sheet iron, sharpened, are set in barb-shaped pieces of hard wood, which fit loosely over the ends of the prongs of the shaft, and are held in place by the tension of the bark rope, to which they are securely attached. When the weapon strikes the barbs enter the flesh and become detached from the shaft, but they are securely held by the line until the animal is killed or exhausted. The points are sometimes poisoned. (See Fig. 85.) Ainos of Abashiri, Yezo, 1888. Length of shaft 15 feet. 150675

Small bag.—Made of the rush *Scirpus*, with a cord to swing over the shoulder. Ainos of Yezo, 1888. 150676

Ohiyo bark.—The bark of the mountain elm, *Ulmus montana*, used principally for making cloth for clothing. The specimens show how the bark readily splits into numerous thin, broad bands or layers, from which long, narrow threads for weaving are drawn, tied end to end, and wound into balls like 150650. Ainos of Yezo, 1888. 150677

Dried salmon.—Fish cut into long strips and dried over the smoky fire in the house. Ainos of Shari, Yezo, 1888. 150678

[482] *Carrying band.*—A braided band of ohiyo, used for carrying children and loads on the back. The broad middle part is placed on the forehead, and the ends tied under the burden on the back. Three specimens. (See also 150757.) Ainos of Yezo, 1888. 150679, 150680, 150683

This system of carrying children and loads is universal. The women carry large wooden tubs of water on their backs in this manner. (See Plate CV.)

[276] *Tobacco pipe.*—A pipe 3 feet in length, the usual form, but of very unusual size. Ainos of Yezo, 1888. 150681

Hoe.—Fashioned from a branch of a tree, the blade being formed by sharpening the stub of the main branch. An extremely rude instrument. Ainos of Yezo, 1888. 150682

3: Hitchcock N-5 (1888) 1891 AB6 Ainu AB6

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Carrying bag.—Similar to 150676, but larger, made of the rush *Scirpus*, with brown parts of dyed bark, the ends of ohiyo cloth. Ainos of Yezo, 1888. 150684

Wooden dish.—Octagonal in shape, about 12 inches wide by 2½ inches deep inside, cut out of a single block of wood. Ainos of Yezo, 1888. 150685

Wooden bowl.—Circular, excavated from a block of wood, about 10 inches in diameter by 3 inches deep. Ainos of Yezo, 1888. 150686

Cloth mitts.—Mittens made of Japanese cotton cloth. They cover the wrist and back of the hands only. Ainos of Yezo, 1888. 150688 [291]

Ceremonial head dress.—A band of dyed bark, braided, about 2 inches wide, to put on the head. Around the outside a band of white, curled shavings pass, with the free ends behind. In front a rude wooden figure, perhaps representing the head of a bear. Squares of purple cloth hang down all around the lower edge. Used by the men when dancing. (See Fig. 87.) Ainos of Piratori, Yezo, 1888. 150687 [292]

Apron.—Made of ohiyo cloth and Japanese blue cotton cloth, embroidered with light-blue cotton yarn. Worn by the women. Ainos of Abashiri, Yezo, 1888. 150689

Inao.—A whittled stick made of willow wood with long, curled shavings hanging down from near the upper end. The lower end sharpened to stick in the ashes of the fire-place or in the ground. Rather more than half way up a few shavings curling upwards on one side. Length, 30 inches. Inao represents the gods, to which prayers are offered. They are found in every house in the corner sacred to the house god, and in the fire-place where the fire god is worshipped. (See Fig. 86.) Ainos of Yezo, 1888. 150690 [778]

Inao.—A whittled willow stick with pendant shavings, like 150690, but smaller, and stick plain below with short, curled shavings at the top. Length, 17 inches. Ainos of Yezo, 1888. 150691

Inao.—A willow stick with pendant shavings, similar to 150690 and 150691, and used for the same purposes. Length, 30 inches. Ainos of Yezo, 1888. 150692

Broiling sticks.—Stuck in the ashes of the fire-place with fish spitted upon them for broiling. Ainos of Yezo, 1888. 150693 [252]

Tobacco box and stick.—The box has a lid held in place by the cord which passes through holes down both sides and across the bottom, ending above in a knot at the back of the stick. The stick is thrust in the girdle when traveling. Box and stick carved in native designs. Ainos of Yezo, 1888. 150694 [276]

Moustache sticks.—Carved flat sticks of wood, plain or lacquered, used to raise the moustache when drinking saké, and for throwing drops of saké as libations to the gods. The lacquered sticks are undoubtedly old. They are covered with Ainu designs, but the lacquering is probably Japanese work. Length, about 13 inches. (See Fig. 77.) Ainos of Shari, Yezo, 1888. 150695–150699 [413]

Parts of an Ainu loom.—The essential parts of a loom used for weaving ohiyo-bark cloth. Ainos of Yezo, 1888. 150700

Shell for lamp.—A shell of the *Pecten* used to hold oil and a small wick, to serve as a lamp. The shell is supported on the end of a three-forked stick set up in the fire-place. The wick is the pith of a plant, sometimes a bit of twisted bark fiber. Ainos of Yezo, 1888. 150701 [354]

Tobacco box and stick.—Similar to 150694, but much larger. Probably quite an old box. Wires for cleaning the pipe attached to the cord. (See Fig. 79). Ainos of Yezo, 1888. 150702 [276]

Tobacco box and stick.—Similar to 150694. Ainos of Yeterof, 1888. 150703

Red lacquer cup.—Used for saké. Made by the Japanese. Ainos of Yezo, 1888. 150704

Large knife and case.—The knife was obtained from the Japanese. The wooden case is of native workmanship, made in two pieces, bound together with bark, the outside elaborately carved. (See Fig. 76.) Ainos of Yeterof, 1888. 150705 [411] [415]

Bead necklace and copper ornament.—Worn by women. The beads are of glass, blue and white, strung on a cord. The thin copper plate bears a stamped or hammered figure of a person seated on some mythic animal, with leaves of palms [301]

3: Hitchcock N-5 (1888) 1891 AB6 Ainu AB6

126 +82 *Carrying band with stick.*—The band passes over the forehead in the same manner as 150679, but the load is supported on a stick about 15 inches in length which is held horizontally across the back. Ainos of Yezo, 1888. 150767

126 *Arrow with bone head.*—This form not very much used, bamboo heads being most common. Ainos of Yezo, 1888. 150758

+11 *Arrow and snail holder.*—The arrow of the usual form with bamboo head, poisoned for shooting bears. The holder made of leaves of scrub bamboo bound together with bark. Ainos of Yezo, 1888. 150759

Stone arrowheads.—From various parts of Yezo, found in the ground near the surface. Made of obsidian and chert. From three-quarters of an inch to over 2 inches in length. Probably made by the Ainos and used by them within the historic period. Ainos of Yezo, 1888. 150760

[278] *Arrow poison.*—Prepared from the root of the aconite plant. Used to kill bears. The poison acts very quickly, and a wounded animal drops dead a few yards from where he is struck. Ainos of Yezo, 1888. 150761, 150762

126 [224] *Rat trap.*—A kind of bow-trap in which the animal is caught between the arrow head and the frame of the trap. Ainos of Piratori, Yezo, 1888. 150764

Hooked stick.—Used to hold the stew-pot over the fire. The stick is suspended from the beams overhead by means of a slender rod or a bark rope. Ainos of Yezo, 1888. 150767

[482] *Baby carrier.*—The band is placed around the breast instead of on the forehead, as with the Ainos. The child is carried in the sling on the back. Kurile Island natives on the Island of Shikotan, Japan, 1888. 150768

Aconite plant.—The leaves and flowers of the *Aconitum Japonicum* Thunb'g, from the roots of which the Ainos make the arrow poison. Island of Yezo, 1888. 150769

The following articles are the gift of the Sapporo Agricultural College:

Dried fish.—Salmon dried and salted. Tsuishikari Ainos, Yezo, 1888. 150770

Wooden spoon.—Rudely carved handle. Tsuishikari Ainos, Yezo, 1888. 150773

Wooden dish with handle.—This form not observed among the Yezo Ainos. Length, including handle, 15 inches; width, 9 inches. (See Fig. 69.) Tsuishikari Ainos, Yezo, 1888. 150774

[415] *Bark fish tray.*—A large flat tray of bark, with the sides turned up slightly, strengthened with bamboo strips and bound with bark filaments. Length, 18 inches; width, 12 inches. Tsuishikari Ainos, Yezo, 1888. 150775

Oblong deep dish.—Dug out of a piece of wood, with a flat projection at one end for a handle. Used as a rice bowl. Length, 12 inches. Tsuishikari Ainos, Yezo, 1888. 150776

Wooden dish.—Wooden dish of peculiar shape; one end deeply excavated, the other end more shallow, resting on two legs. (See Fig. 69.) Tsuishikari Ainos, Yezo, 1888. 150777

Japanese short sword.—An old sword, regarded as a precious treasure by the people; doubtless a family heirloom. Tsuishikari Ainos, Yezo, 1888. 150778

Man's coat.—Made of the ohiyo or elm-bark cloth; embroidered with cotton yarn on a blue-black cotton ground. Tsuishikari Ainos, Yezo, 1888. 150779

Woman's coat.—Made of the ohiyo or elm-bark cloth; precisely like a man's coat but embroidered directly on the bark cloth with blue, red, and yellow cotton yarn. Tsuishikari Ainos, Yezo, 1888. 150780

[2+] *Belt.*—Made of ohiyo; rather wider than the belts of the Yezo Ainos. Length 86 inches; width 2 inches. Tsuishikari Ainos, Yezo, 1888. 150781

Apron.—Made of ohiyo, with cotton embroidery. Tsuishikari Ainos, Yezo, 1888. 150782

Leggins.—Made of ohiyo cloth, embroidered with cotton. Tsuishikari Ainos, Yezo, 1888. 150783

Bow.—A plain bow of the form common throughout Yezo. Tsuishikari Ainos, Yezo, 1888. 150784

3: Hitchcock N-5 (1888) 1891 AB6 Ainu AB6

Quiver and arrows.—Quiver made of wood bound with bark, having carved projected pieces along the sides. The form is common to all the Ainos. Arrows with bone or bamboo heads (see Fig. 84). Tsuishikari Ainos, Yezo, 1888. 150785, 150786

Loom.—Four pieces, constituting the essential parts of a native loom for weaving ohiyo-bark cloth. Tsuishikari Ainos, Yezo, 1888. 150787

Harpoon.—A barbed iron head, with lateral barbs on the shank, loosely fitted on the end of a wooden shaft and secured by thongs to a line. When a fish is struck the head leaves the shaft and the fish is pulled in with the line. Used for shallow-river fishing. Tsuishikari Ainos, Yezo, 1888. 150788

Fish spear.—A spear identical with 150662, but smaller. Tsuishikari Ainos, 1888. 150788

Cake of dried lily root.—Similar to Nos. 150741, 150742, and 150744, but of slightly different form. Tsuishikari Ainos, Yezo, 1888. 150789

Wooden plate.—Square and rectangular, carved on the inside. Ainos of Yezo, 1875 Collected by Gen. H. Capron. 19416

Wooden plate.—Ainos of Yezo, 1876. Collected by Benj. Smith Lyman. 22256

LIST OF YEZO, AINO AND SHIKOTAN PHOTOGRAPHS OBTAINED BY ROMYN HITCHCOCK.

Backs of houses, Shikotan.—Showing the mounds of earth over the pits, connected with the main or thatched houses. Negative by R. Hitchcock, August, 1888. 56

Villagers, Shikotan.—The Kurile Islanders now occupying the dwellings on Shikotan. Negative by R. Hitchcock, August, 1888. 57

View of Nemuro, Yezo.—Looking over the the town toward the harbor, showing Bentonjima, on which are numerous pits and a shell-heap. Negative by R. Hitchcock, August, 1888. 58

Pottery.—Specimens of so-called "Aino" pottery, from the collection of M. l'Abbé Furet, Hakodate. Negative by R. Hitchcock, August, 1888. 59

View of Hakodate.—From back of the town, overlooking the harbor. Negative by R. Hitchcock, August, 1888. 61

House on Shikotan.—The front or thatched house and back passage of the Kurile Islanders. Negative by R. Hitchcock, August, 1888. 65

Earth houses on Shikotan.—Two detached earth or pit dwellings. Negative by R. Hitchcock, August, 1888. 66

Aino house, Bekkai, Yezo.—From the southeast. Showing a small, conical tent covered with mats on the south side of the house, in which an aged woman and a dog were found sleeping. (See page 451.) Negative by R. Hitchcock. August, 1888. 740

Aino house and storehouse, Bekkai, Yezo.—Another view of the house shown in No. 740, from the northeast, showing a storehouse in the foreground and a second house on the left. Negative by R. Hitchcock, August, 1888. 741

Group of five Ainos, Shari, Yezo.—Four women and one man standing at the entrance to a house, a Japanese on the right. Negative by R. Hitchcock, August, 1888. 742

Aino man and woman, Shari, Yezo.—Standing before the side door of a house. Negative by R. Hitchcock, August, 1888. 743

Aino house and storehouse, Shari, Yezo.—A large and well-built dwelling thatched with reeds (arundinaria). Fish nets drying on a frame raised on poles. Negative by R. Hitchcock, August, 1888. 744

Aino house, Shari, Yezo.—The house has a small aperture just beneath the ridge for the escape of smoke, and a hole in the roof, closed with a sliding shutter; also a lateral projection forming a side room for storage. There is a sliding front door, outside of which a mat may be dropped down in cold weather. Negative by R. Hitchcock, August, 1888. 745

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890)1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

a prism. The different huts of Piratori vary in size, but not in type. The larger ones cover an area of about sixteen or eighteen feet square. Most of them, however, do not measure more than ten or twelve feet square. Benry's house was exceptionally large, and being such a "swell" one, two rough *kinna* (mats) were spread on the floor and a number of Japanese rice boxes and *shokuji* tables[1] adorned one side of the dwelling. Over these were hung a number of swords, knives, etc., most of them with no blade at all, or with only a wooden one. The few old blades which Benry possessed were of Japanese workmanship, probably obtained by the Ainu in their former wars with the Japanese. A few Ainu spears and arrows with bone and bamboo poisoned points were fastened to the roof.

These Ainu of Piratori have frequent intercourse with the Japanese, who get from them furs and other articles in exchange for *sake* or a few worthless beads. A few half-castes are also found at Piratori. The Piratori Ainu, with those of Volcano Bay, as we have seen, are those best known to the civilised world, as a few foreigners have travelled so far to see them. I may mention that as types the inhabitants of Piratori are a great deal better than the residents of Volcano Bay, most of whom are half-breeds; but even they themselves cannot be taken as fair specimens of their race, for they have adopted several customs and habits of the Japanese, which the incautious traveller has then reported as purely Ainu customs. For instance, the pure Ainu diet consists almost entirely of fish, meat, and seaweeds. Only occasionally are the roots of certain trees eaten. At Piratori I found that many grow and eat millet, and corn and bad rice are also sometimes procured from the Japanese. Benry has also gone so far in the way of civilisation as to invest his small fortune in buying half-a-dozen hens and a cock, with whom he shares his regal home. These hens lay eggs according to custom, and Benry and his "wife" eat them. As the Ainu language has no special word for this imported kind of bird, they are known by the name of "kikkiri."

After the experience which I had had at Horobets I decided to be more careful with my sketching. I broached the subject

[1] Small Japanese dinner tables.

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890)1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

they find on the mountains. Metallurgy is utterly unknown to the Ainu. Until of late years they possessed nothing made of metal. Their arrows had bamboo or bone heads; tin or iron cooking utensils they had none; and the blades of their knives were and are of Japanese origin. Some of these blades are very old, and were acquired by the Ainu in the battles which they fought against the Japanese; others have been got by barter-metal exchanged for skins of animals.

Furthermore, save the weaving-loom, the Ainu possess no machinery of their own make. This too, as we have seen, is but a very rude and simple kind of machine. The application of wind or water power to economise human labour is in no way known to them; thus they have no windlasses, no pumps, no bellows, no windmills, no waterwheels; neither have they any signs of the rudest form of machinery moved by manual power which they have imagined and made for themselves. Furthermore, they are very loth to accept those mechanical means of economising labour which are employed by their neighbours the Japanese.

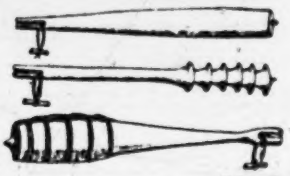
The Ainu are very conservative, little as they may have to preserve. They show a great dislike to change or reform their habits and customs, or to improve themselves in any way. Worse they could certainly not be. They have no ancestral attachment which makes them unwilling to discard their rude practices for more civilised ways; but, acting according to their instincts, and not by their intelligence, they preserve customs which seem inconvenient and unpractical to us, which habit has rendered familiar and pleasant to them.

Various natives in other parts of the world show signs of an earlier state of civilisation, but the Ainu do not. They have never had a past civilisation, they are not civilised now, and what is more, they will never be civilised. Civilisation kills them. As a hog delights in filth, so the Ainu can only live in dirt, neglect, and savagery of personal habits. They are made that way, and they cannot help it. They are excluded from progress by an impassable barrier. They have many miseries in their life, but no greater misery could befall an Ainu than to be forced to lead a civilised existence. Even after they have been educated in Japanese schools, when they return home, in a short time they forget all they have learned, and

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890) 1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

beside the sheaths and handles of their knives and swords and their moustache-lifters, as has been shown, are the *Tchutti*, or war-clubs; the *Hera*, or netting-mesh used in weaving; drinking-vessels, quivers, pipes and tobacco-boxes, the thread-reeds, cloth-hangers, and graves.

The modern Ainu are not a warlike people, therefore many of the weapons which were used in former days for defence and offence are rarely found now. For instance, the old war-clubs are not used by the present generation. These clubs were long and heavy, and were carried on the wrist by a piece of rope passed through a hole at the upper end. Some were plain and straight, others were curved towards the end to make them heavier. Now and again some carved all over are found. Pieces of leather or rope were often knotted round the heavier part to make the blow more severe. In some of the very old clubs a stone was inlaid to add to the weight and consequent efficiency of the weapon. These clubs are from two to two and a half feet in length, and are made of hard wood.



TCHUTTI, OR WAR-CLUBS.

Ainu bows are simple, and not very powerful. They are about fifty inches in length, and made of only one piece of yew. The arrows, which are poisoned, are of bamboo or bone. The poison is extracted from aconite roots mixed with other ingredients. It is somewhat greasy owing to certain fatty matters which it contains, and is smeared into the cavity in the arrow-point, which has previously been treated with pine-tree gum to fix the poison. The arrow-point is barbed, and so fashioned that when the shaft is drawn from the wound this poisoned point remains.

TROUGH IN WHICH RESIN IS KEPT FOR FIXING ARROW-POINTS.

The illustration gives two different kinds of poisoned arrows. In Figs. 2 and 3, the black part in the point shows the cavity filled with poison. Fig. 2 shows how the arrow-head is separated from the reed,

POISONED ARROWS.

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890)1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

411 and how when the arrow is drawn from the flesh the poisoned point remains inside the wound.

The arrows, when in war or hunting, are kept in a quiver, and a small *Inao* is hung to it to bring good luck to the owner.

Spears and harpoons of one barb are common, and some of the poisoned spears have heads similar to the arrows but of a larger size. Spears are out of date now, but harpoons are still employed in fishing.

Knives are the weapons on which a modern Ainu most relies. Some of these knives are of such length that they might pass for swords. The blade is single-edged, and is protected by a wooden sheath. Nearly every man possesses one, which he carries in his girdle when dressed ; when naked, he

[531]

AINU KNIVES.

carries it in his hand. The illustration shows knives of different sizes, and with different patterns worked on them. From an artistic point of view the sheaths of knives are the most carefully wrought over, and ornamented to a greater extent than any other article of Ainu manufacture.

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

horizontal frame above the fire (*tuna*), to the adjustable pot-hook (*shuwat*), and to almost any object of value.

When the sacred millet brew (*inau korashkoro*) is made for a festival, they are attached to the vessels for brewing, the wooden pestle for grinding the millet (*yuta-ni*), the winnowing basket (*moi*) the bow and quiver (*ku* and *ikayop*), and anything else that might attract evil spirits. At the northern festival the young bear has a coat and earrings made of them (Pl. IV, fig. 1). In operations involving uncertainty or risk, such as making a dug-out canoe, the same means of protection are employed. Curled shavings are regarded as potent amulets for personal protection.

Twisted shavings are used as bracelets by women performing the ritual of brushing away evil from the sick, and in difficult labour when the midwife also wears two as a necklace. This forms the *eukot* (mutually attached) twisted shavings, a valuable talisman. It is not usually worn by a woman in labour, but is placed under the pillow. One was placed on my wife's neck when she was administering an anaesthetic while assisting me in a case of prolonged parturition.

Curled shavings inside the pillow were formerly supposed to retain the *ramat* of personal vigour and afford protection during sleep. The image (*inoka*) of Kinashut Kamui is made of curled shavings and is used in exorcism rites. A less sacred form made of grass is used for protection in case of illness (Pl. IV, fig. 2). Curled shavings were also used to preserve the aconite poison which is put on arrow-points, from being spoilt by hostile spirits. It was first wrapped in the shavings and then robed in them, in which state it was taboo. Aconite, though feminine, was *kamui* and taboo to women, but recently some Ainu women have committed suicide by means of it. When an Ainu is suffering from possession by the spirit of a hornet, as diagnosed by the medium (*tusu*), a trusted device for causing the intruder to depart is to make an imitation wasps' nest of curled shavings and wave it six times sunwise round the victim's head.

Before leaving the subject of *inau*, a few words should be said about certain signs incised on some of them. So far as I know, there are no marks of personal ownership, but in the Nibutani neighbourhood signs betokening the male ancestral line are incised on five kinds of *inau* on a very special occasion. This is the ritual dismissal of the Bear Spirit at the end of the Bear Festival. A male

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

while straining it; lacquered feeding bowls (*itangi*); jugs of many kinds, with spouts (*etunup*); large lacquer bowls with lids, and sometimes with handles, called *patchi*; and wine cups or chalices (*tuki*) sometimes of fine old lacquer, usually with detachable stands. At festivals four of these should be placed on a tray with feet (*otchiki*), with a prayer-stick on the rim. The larger cup seen in Plate XI, fig. 5, was used for libations at the ritual salutation (*pase-ongami*) to the ancestral *kamui*. The small wooden vessel with a handle in Plate XI, fig. 4, was carved by an ancestor of my friend Mohekichi, and was valued in his family for several generations. All these objects are used in ritual. In the same figure is a *shintoko*.

Necklaces of beads (*rekutunbe*) are counted as women's treasure. They are of foreign manufacture, mostly Japanese, but some beads may be of Siberian origin. Many have pendants, probably serving as amulets. Indeed, the necklace itself is thought to have some protective influence, apart from its worth as ornament and mark of social standing. Simple ring earrings also are amulets, protecting the orifices of the ears, as tattooing the upper lip of women guards the mouth and nose against attacks of evil spirits.

On the wall behind the principal treasures are suspended swords (*emush*), quivers and sacred curled shavings. The present swords are nearly all foreign, and of soft iron, not to be compared with the tempered blades of the Japanese. For the last two or three centuries such weapons were forbidden to the Ainu, though they were allowed bows for hunting.

All are treasures in the sense that they are hoarded, but elderly Ainu distinguish between useful articles of value and what we might call fancy goods. The former are treasures (*iyoibe*), and the latter belongings (*ikoro*), of value only to the owner, but both classes have a suspicion of the supernatural about them.[1]

These sacred objects used to be hung on a cornice of tightly bound reeds on the north wall. The device was called either *chisei sembe* or *chisei noibe*, the heart or brains of the house. The cornice might be as much as twelve feet long, and sometimes went far enough over the corner to reach the sacred window. Most of the treasures are of Japanese make, though I possess two of rare Ainu

[1] The Ainu distinguished between men's and women's property—*machi-korpe* and *huchi-korpe*. The former passed usually from father to son, the latter from mother to daughter.—H.W.

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

workmanship, real achievements when one considers that they were knife-worked.

The *ikoro* have a value which at first sight seems fantastic. Objects that look like toy swords and imitation quivers, often strips and tablets of wood, pass for precious things. Among them, it is true, are iron swords, of which every man is supposed to possess at least one. The scabbards are often profusely decorated, some with Ainu and others with Japanese carving, and some have metal fittings. These swords are kept for ceremonial use. They are brandished in the processional dance to drive away evil spirits, which is held when there has been a death by drowning or other fatal accident, or when a house has been burnt down. They are also used in exorcisms for disease and in mimetic and other dances. They are credited with great potency, and by some elders are regarded as *kamui*. Both they and the imitation swords usually have a broad sash attached wherewith they are hung over the shoulder.

Imitation swords have either a solid scabbard or a short wooden blade. They are often adorned with small patches of tinsel or foil. Many of the sword and quiver *ikoro* are old, and age adds value even to articles of poor quality. They are believed to intensify luck in hunting, whereby more *ikoro* are obtained by barter of skins. This luck waned if they were seen by others, though the owner could gloat over them without much risk. Hence the most precious, *ikoro ikeu*, were also known as *mokoro* (sleeping) *ikoro*. Various reasons for this secrecy are alleged, such as fear of envy and dislike of ostentation, but ideas of magic are probably strong. In legends, the possessor of many *ikoro* adorned with tinsel was a *nishpa* (from *nish*, sky, and *pa*, above, chief). Imitation quivers had designs of sun, moon and stars carved or inlaid, and were then called *tombe*, shining things. The quiver, by the way, was feminine.

No. 12 on the plan of the house indicates the place for clothes and things under feminine control, including some things prepared for the dead. The husband and wife sleep at 13 and the children at 14. At G is the southern shining window (*itom puyara*), and at H the small window (*pon puyara*), near which dishes and other things are washed. Everyone has a bowl for personal use, and it is customary to clean it with the index finger, which is called the bowl-licking finger (*itangi-kem-ashki-pet*) or, for short, licking-thing (*kembe*).

Most of the southern part of the room was unoccupied except by

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
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342 576 527 made to Chisei-koro Kamui in his sacred corner. The visitor then sits down on the floor in line with the other guests, at (2) as shown on the plan in text fig. 3, and salutes Kamui Fuchi most elaborately. He then makes a slighter salutation to the beer in the vessel and then to the householder. All the guests are watching, and as soon as the visitor salutes the householder they do the same.

342 527 [554] The male relatives sit at (3) indicated on the plan, the female relatives and elderly women friends at (12), younger women with children at (13).

When a sufficient number of guests has arrived, the service to the gods begins. First there is a curious ceremony of ladling the beer. The housewife goes to the head of the hearth, takes some of the beer in a ladle (*pishaku*) and pours it three times from left to right round the inner edge of the vessel (*shintoko*). Then, taking some of the beer from the bottom and some from the top, she fills a lacquered jug (*etunup*), and pours it back into the vessel, again going round the inner edge three times. The jug is then again filled partly from the bottom and partly from the top, and from the jug the beer is poured into the cups. This may be done because the beer tends to deposit lees, but I have been told that it is to insure against poisoning, e.g. with powdered aconite root. Ceremonial pouring into the cups is called *is-mare*.

342 527 782 During or after this proceeding the householder calls two trusty elders to perform the ritual salutation with libations and prayers to Chisei-koro Kamui in his corner and Nusa-koro Kamui outside. The elders are not called by name but as the father of so-and-so, naming an elder son if living, otherwise a daughter, or if childless as the husband of so-and-so. Visiting elders wear ceremonial dress and headband (*Sapa-un-be*).[1] When chosen to officiate, an elder is conducted to his place by a male relative of the householder, who takes the left hand of the elder in his right. It is noteworthy that whereas a ceremonial sword must be worn by the householder, and by an elder officiating at the sacred fence, it is not worn by the elder ministering to Chisei-koro Kamui. It is always worn when offering or praying to the ancestors in the ceremony of Falling Tears, which is never neglected when a modicum of the ancient

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[301] [789] [1] *Sapa-un-be*, 'thing on the head', is a band or circlet made of several strands of twisted *inau* shavings sewn to a fillet of cloth, and usually having in front a carved effigy of a theriomorphic deity, bear or other. This band protects the elder against evil spirits. Women also are supposed to wear a kind of tiara (*chipanup*), but commonly have a black scarf tied round the head.—N.G.M.

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
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342 527 782 [411] [292] beverage may be made surreptitiously for the ancestral spirits. The ceremonial dress with patterns sewn on (*kapara amip*) should have only white patterns during ministrations to Kamui Fuchi, Nusa-koro Kamui and the ancestors.

To return to the ceremony. The elder who is to minister to Chisei-koro Kamui is led to his corner, and he who is to minister to Nusa-koro Kamui to the top of the hearth (8). Meanwhile the householder receives a cup of beer from the housewife, sprinkles a few drops with the libation wand on each of the backward-shaven *inau* standing in the ashes of the hearth at (11) on the plan, and then a few more on the fire itself. He then makes salutation and the male guests follow suit. Turning the cup so that the point of the libation wand, with its sign of the tongue, is directed towards the [776] fire, he prays[1] to Kamui Fuchi by her titles of Iresu Kamui and in some places Moshiri-koro. While so doing he holds the cup in his left hand and strokes it with his right, an act of salutation. He tells her that the sacred beer has been prepared by her favour for service to all the gods to whom it is about to be offered. He asks her to inspire the libation wand as her messenger so that, should the prayers be unsuitably worded, the meaning will become clear to the good *kamui*. She is also besought to be favourable to the household, to rear up good children and grant prosperity.

During this prayer the other two elders attend to their duties. The housewife takes a cup of beer to the elder near the north-east corner (4), also with a libation wand on the rim. With this he gives a few drops to the head of the effigy of Chisei-koro Kamui and sometimes a few to the adjacent floor, and addresses him in adulatory terms as representative of Shiramba Kamui, asking protection for the house and all therein. The other elder performs ritual salutation to Kamui Fuchi, receives his cup, tells her briefly that he is about to obey her behest to minister to Nusa-koro Kamui, and then departs on his mission.

With two exceptions the sacred (eastern) window is always used [823] for passing things used in ritual, such as *inau*, beer, or the flesh of [764] sacrificed animals. The east stands for life[2] and the west for death, and until the sun has passed the meridian it would be most im-

[1] Munro states that he has recorded this and other important prayers and [1141] placed them with translations in an appendix; unfortunately this appendix has not been found.—B.Z.S.

[533] [2] An ancient song which I learnt from Rennuikesh, and which he states has been handed down in his family for many generations, tells of the rising sun

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
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X

VARIOUS RITES

Hunting

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BEFORE the Japanese administration, hunting and fishing were the main Ainu occupations, and even now protection and success must be sought by prayers to Kamui Fuchi and the three other *'pase' kamui*, Nusa-koro Kamui, Shiramba Kamui and Hash-inau-uk Kamui, before starting on any hunting or fishing expedition. It was formerly the custom, while hunting, to carry one of the skulls stuffed with curled shavings known as *shiratki kamui*, often that of a 'good' fox. They were thought to render the hunter invisible to evil spirits taking the form of wicked bears (*wen-yuk*). The *ramat* in the skull was supposed to see well and to throw dust in the eyes of evil spirits or in some other way to blind them temporarily.

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The quiver for the poisoned arrows was believed to embody considerable *ramat*. Hunters used to carry a stick resembling a libation wand with an ancestral mark incised on it. This was a means of identifying the owner and betokened that he was under the protection of the ancestral spirits. It was said that this stick was often strapped to the hunting bag, in which case a bear tally stick (*iso-pishka-ni*), with a notch for each bear killed, was tied to the quiver.

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If a hunter without a spear was threatened by a wicked bear, as distinguished from a genuine mountain deity willing to provide meat, he would embrace a tree and implore Shiramba Kamui to save him. Living elders say that this was effectual and that a thank-

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
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dwelling. The post to which the bear will be tied is firmly fixed in the ground and garlanded with evergreens, signifying immortal life. Offerings of curled shavings and *inau* are prepared to please the spirits. The elders set up the offerings and all benevolent gods are petitioned to come and bless the festival with their presence.

Inside the house, vessels of Japanese lacquer with food and drink are set out. The walls are covered by mats of sacred design. On them hang ceremonial swords. Women prepare skewers on which the smaller millet cakes will be threaded. Children then carry them to the place of the Great Offering—the place where the head of the slain bear will be raised. (See Pl. XIII, Figs. 1, 2, 3.)

When preparations for the feast are almost complete, soup is boiling, the millet beer brewed, the host begins to receive the first guests. Outside the hut, sightseers who have come from many miles away have gathered to watch the ceremony. The bear, which will be killed ritually, is still in the cage which has housed it since it was caught as a cub. It has been kindly treated with the reverence due to a god during its captivity and is half tame. An elder offers prayer and drops of drink to the bear *kamui*. Now he must be brought out. Noosed from above and secured by strong but flexible cords, the bear is taken from the cage through a hole made in the floor. Roaring, but more astonished than ferocious, the bear is guided towards the scene of its death. The Ainu believe that the bear must now be made happy, and it is goaded to run about outside in the courtyard. Branches of fir tree brush away evil influence. Songs are sung and the traditional rhythms are strictly adhered to.

After the bear has been paraded for some time, some of the men shoot specially decorated arrows at it; these are without points and do it no harm. Then the bear is tied to the centre post. A bowman, selected last in the proceedings, lest evil overtake him, prays for the quick and early dispatch by the real arrow which he will fire. A shot or two by bamboo-pointed arrows are considered the proper way to free the spirit from the body. The sacred blood must not touch the soil, but pure snow does not contaminate it. An elder prays for the welfare of the departing spirit. The passing of the spirit is signalled by the flight of magic arrows over the place of the Great Offering, and are then eagerly raced for by boys. The bear, though dead, is now ceremonially strangled between two poles. This ritual imitation of strangling is performed in compliance with ancient custom, and here passes into burlesque or buffoonery, perhaps relieving the tension which has been built up during the preceding death of the bear and the release of its spirit.

On this occasion, the ceremony being performed for a she-bear, the body is decked with a necklace, the spirit is gratified by salutations, com-

11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 . AB6 Ainu AB6

and 4, the various Ainu fishing techniques, fishing localities and fishing seasons were closely adjusted to the habit and ecology of the dog salmon. Thus the Ainu activities in catching the fish were concentrated to and around its spawning grounds. Both the ichthyological data cited in Note 28 and Ainu information indicate the annual reccurrence of the major spawning grounds in the same places. Each local group controlled a certain number of these spawning grounds which were distributed near its settlement or settlements, and each settlement group exploited intensively the ground or grounds nearest to them and controlled by their local group (pp. 59-60).

Hunting Devices.

Bows and Arrows.

The bow and arrow were the only hand weapons to Ainu hunters. Some Ainus kept spears with iron-points which were obtained by means of trade, but there is no evidence that the spear was ever used in their regular hunting activities. They hunted deer and bears with the hand-bow, *chiani ku*, and the spring-bow, *amappo*, both simple bows (Fig. 5, a & b). The arrow shaft for the former is a grass stem and that for the latter wooden. Both have an arrowhead made of a kind of bamboo and are always coated with aconite poison. Only the males were to handle them.

The spring bow was set firmly on a tree stump by the side of a trail, with a string fastened on one end to the trigger and stretched across the trail of bear and deer in such a way that the poisoned arrow be shot automatically at the touch of any animal. The tip of the arrow fixed was sheathed in a roll of bark to protect the poison from rain and dew. The arrow lacked the connecting line for holding the game shot. The chief duty of a hunting group staying at the hunting hut was to set a number of spring bows and arrows in the hunting ground, *kuari ushi*, and keep their rounds inspecting continually.

Apart from their use in association with the deer fence, the spring bow, set as they were alone in inconspicuous positions in a mountain hunting ground, could be a great danger to human beings as well. Accordingly, their use was strictly regulated by the headman as one of his important duties. In practice, they were set by each cooperative group of hunters working as a unit, centred in a specific area of one dale valley as a unit. The areas, *kuari ushi*, places for setting bows, were found either on the upper reaches of the dales which feed the river along which their *kotans* were distributed, chiefly for deer hunting, or in the dale valleys at the sources of the river for bear hunting (Fig. 8). Unless abandoned, the same area was used successively by one group over many seasons. Except when used in association

11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

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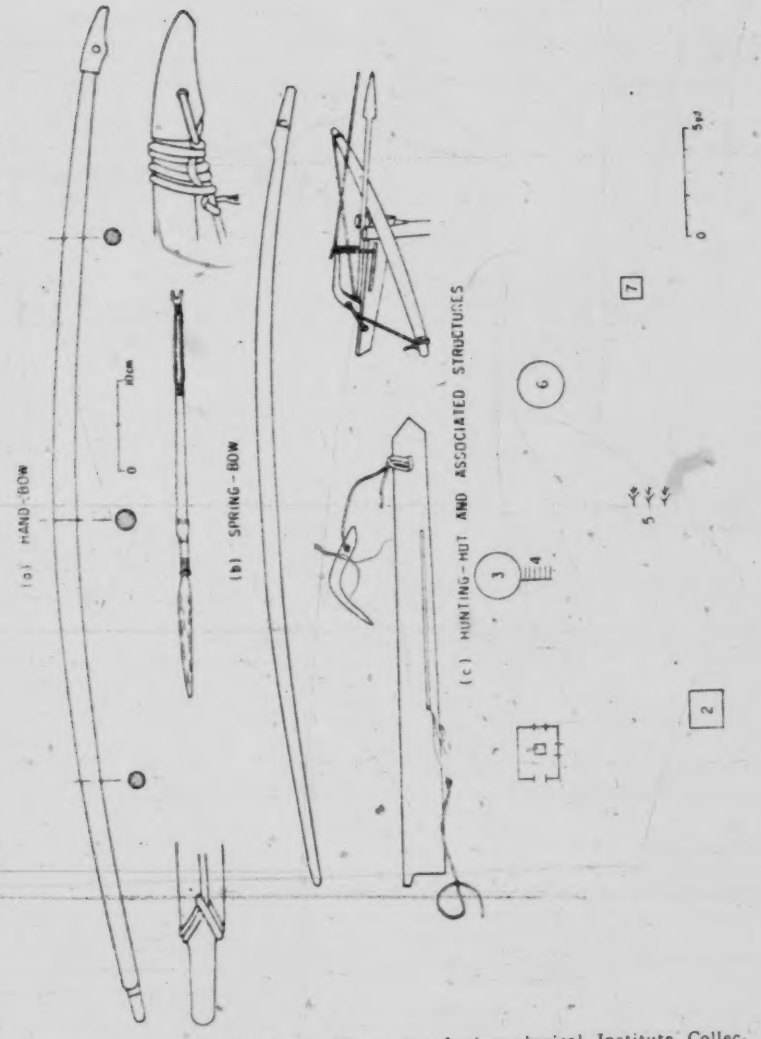

Fig. 5. (a) and (b). Tokyo University Anthropological Institute Collection. (c), reconstructed plan; 1, hunting hut; 2, store-house for meat and skins; 3, ash dump; 4, outdoor alter; 5, dead trees for drying meat; 6, bone dump; 7, store-house for spring-bows and associated gear.

11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

hup, Abies sachalinensis[23]. In the second phase the scene of hunting shifted accordingly from the fields up to the hills. Hunting on the fields were usually done by hunters out from their homes in the settlement for the day, whereas for the hill hunting the hunters from most settlements migrated in parties to near the area where deer concentrated to pass the winter (Fig. 8 and Map 2). The hunters stayed at their huts in the valleys of streams down from the winter quarters, chasing their game with hounds and with hand bows and poisoned arrows. They usually returned home when the snow was too deep for them and their dogs to walk in. In either of Tokapchi and Otopuke, hunting activities during this second phase were performed only by part of the hunters, and in Nitmap on the upper Tokapchi at least, by some younger, unmarried hunters. In short, those activities were more or less supplementary to field hunting. They seem to have fluctuated in proportion to the scarcity of meat in actual store.

Spring hunting.—In spring the surface of the snow on the hills thawed by day and hardened again by night. Then deer hunting was resumed by hunters back at their huts near the winter quarters (p. 54). For some time early in the season, they used their hounds to drive the animals from their quarters down into glens still filled with snow and then shot them with hand bows as they fled struggling in the hardened snow. They also hunted the game lured by fresh leaves or small twigs of trees fallen on the ground, with spring bows set around them. As the snow began to disappear and the plants pushed forth their buds, deer gradually came down in herds to the lower plain in search of food. From the winter quarters down to the fields deer passed by way of the ridges of hills. Their tracks, *yuk apiri*, were much more fixed between the winter quarter and the bottom of the ridge than on the open fields. They continued hunting by means of spring bows set along the migration tracks as well as by hand bows till the base snow disappeared from the fields and the downward migration was completed. Each hunting party constituting a hut group (pp. 43-46) practised the spring bow hunting in their own hunting territory, that is, the dale valley in which their hut was located (p. 31).

Besides the methods mentioned above, the Ainu hunted deer down with dogs, caught them by the horn or neck with ropes and killed them with clubs as they fled struggling in the snow or crossed the rivers[24]. This method was widely practised among the Ainu; however, it seems to have been only supplementary to the others. It was also the only method of deer hunting by women and children.

Bear Hunting.

The Hokkaido species of bear belongs to Ursus arctos, a kind of brown

1. [Errata: the word "scence" should read "scene". Cf. errata sheet, p. 164-A--Analyst]

11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

The
177 southwestern and coastal Ainu, who had been in long and frequent contact
411 with Japanese, were already in the initial stage of using firearms (matchlocks). The use, however, was still quite limited; on the upper Tokapchi, in particular, the native Ainu continued depending on their traditional hand- and spring-bows with accompanying poisoned arrows.

A 224 114 [192] /576 cont./ More Trustworthy and of greater interest with respect to the hunting practices of the Ainu is the statement by the same traveler that they set up snares similar to those for the river otter and sable also for the musk deer (Ainu likun-kamoi), and, to be sure, in accordance with its habitat, in the mountain gorges. Accordingly, I am G A 224 inclined to conjecture that this animal is also caught in a similar manner by the Gilyak, though I heard nothing about it among them. The Ainu method of hunting larger animals, such as rein- A [411] deer and bear, is likewise the same as among the Gilyak, except that they also use poisoned arrows, which, as /577/ was A 411 439 325 178 mentioned above, are not found among the latter. The bear pikes, spears, and lances required for hunting are supplied to them, however, since the complete decline of their own forging skill, through barter from the Gilyak, in which those elegant lances with inlaid silver, copper, and brass figures are regarded as Manchurian -- a view which may be maintained and encouraged by the Gilyak out of self-interest. All in all, however, A 224 181 433 648 the Ainu are hunters even less than the Gilyak, and, to be sure, not only because they, like the latter, gain their livelihood chiefly from fishing and seal-catching, which certainly give them a meager subsistence, but also because they are too lazy and, as a consequence of the Japanese yoke burdening them, too apathetic to procure for themselves the means for a more abundant and better existence through a more active practice of hunting fur-bearing animals, easily turned to good account in trade with the Gilyak.

G 224 433 The situation is different for the other neighbors of the Gilyak on Sakhalin, the Orok. Among them the inclination for hunting peculiar to all Tungusic tribes appears in very obvious and characteristic ways. Although wedged in in small numbers between two more powerful, sedentary fishing peoples, they have remained, as was discussed above in detail, hunting nomads G [439] in their principal concerns and character. Hunting is absolutely necessary for their livelihood, for though they also occupy themselves for a period during the year with fishing and seal-hunting along the seashore and the mouths of the rivers, this is far from sufficient for their subsistence, and only the hunting diligently